

to the *Citizen*

Why The "Freedom Home" Is
Newbury Vt. The "Citizen"

the **CITIZEN**

Cheers For Esquire

To start the year on an upward beat, here's a special note of cheer for all stout-hearted Southerns.

A new champion has entered the lists in Yankeeland, and it is none other than *Esquire*, the magazine for gentlemen of discernment.

Now when a slick publication—and *Esquire* is among the slickest of the slick—has a good word to say about white Southerners, that most denigrated of all national groups, the millenium does indeed cast a faint glow along yon Eastern horizon.

"The Case for the White Southerner," an article by Perry Morgan in the January issue of *Esquire*, shows an uncommonly keen understanding of the Southern mind, and of the Northern mind as well. Mr. Morgan displays the sort of feeling for the South that comes from an expatriate who has found success amid the towers of steel and glass along Park or Madison Avenues.

His piece is billed as "not a defense of segregation, but of men who live in a region where segregation is defended." While there are specks of objectionable bias—for example he resurrects the stereotyped sharecropper who vanished

twenty years ago — nevertheless, these sops to unenlightened non-Southern prejudice are a small price to pay for Morgan's devastating whacks at the Northern "Piety Belt, a varied land populated by people of good conscience."

In a few hundred words, as solid a case for the South is built as we've seen in many a month.

Here are a few main points. On Northern hypocrisy: "The Piety Belt that denounces racial discrimination and has it, too" . . . the violence done to sound social and legal concepts by the Supreme Court's Black Monday ukase . . . "Already, the NAACP was promising to wrap up the whole revolution in a year or two and, as at least one NAACP official gave as his personal opinion, intermarriage certainly was one goal of the revolution" . . . and finally, perhaps the most pertinent of all human facts, that wherever the two races exist together in significant numbers, "walls are thrown up, and that when laws oppose, the walls somehow curve around the laws."

Thanks to *Esquire* for allowing their readers an urbane and vivid glimpse through the Paper Curtain.

DECEMBER 1961

the CITIZEN

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*Cover — "Patterns," photograph by William A. Bacon,
APSA, ARPS.*

Two Can Play The Numbers Game

BY RICHARD D. MORPHEW
Managing Editor, THE CITIZEN

"We're drowning in phony statistics!" an article in the November issue of *Fortune* magazine advises.

Only moments after reading this whimsical — yet provocative — lament, tangible evidence of its truth found its way to my desk.

The proof was in the form of a monthly publication called *Southern School News*, which modestly describes itself as "factual" and "objective."

The December issue of the Ford-Foundation-backed tabloid provides ample cause to challenge the use of either descriptive adjective.

A page one headline declares: "7.3 Per Cent of Negro Pupils Attend Classes with Whites."

And to drill the percentage into even the densest reader—most of whom are Northern newsmen anxiously seeking propaganda favorable to integration — the first sentence of the lead story repeats it yet again.

Says the "factual" and "objective" *Southern School News*: "The South has 7.3 per cent of its Negro enrollment attending public schools with whites this school year, the eighth since the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling on school segregation."

This revelation failed to have its desired effect on me—I was not impressed. Knowing that *Southern School News* is published by the

Southern Education Reporting Service (SERS), an innocent-sounding group which, in turn, owes its existence to a Ford Foundation grant, I read further.

After poring over three crowded columns of statistics and arriving at the small type of the item's seventh paragraph, my diligence was rewarded.

The bold, black banner headline of this "factual" and "objective" publication had assured readers: "233,509 Negroes Now in Biracial Schools." The first sentence said "The South has 7.3 per cent of its Negro enrollment," etc. Yet in the buried seventh paragraph, the truth was at last revealed: "Ninety-seven per cent of the South's desegregated Negro students, or 266,606 live in the District of Columbia and the border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma and West Virginia."

This sudden rewrite of Confederate geography appears at first glance to be just another major blunder by a Nashville-based Ford Foundation hireling. But a careful rereading of the item and accompanying data leads the thoughtful reader to another conclusion. Innocent stupidity? Hardly—just a clever little propaganda gambit.

The cold facts of the matter are that without including these states

as part of its conglomerate "South," there would be virtually *no* integration for SERS to report upon. And "factual" and "objective" SERS is paid to report on integration. To the bureaucratic mind, the solution is obvious: *find* some, report on it, and *say* it's in the South. No one in New York will know the difference!

Sadly, many Southern newspapers don't know the difference, either. The SERS 7.3 per cent statistic was reported at great length by the wire services, and headlines blossomed forth in many a town in Dixie echoing the fake claim, giving credence to the myth of inevitability, and gladdening the hearts of integrationists everywhere.

At this point, my thoughts returned to the *Fortune* article about "an insidious and growing phenomenon—the phony statistic."

"Authors apparently think that their point is more likely to be believed if they couch it in statistical language," the article explained, adding that "the interpreted statistic is certainly a major political and economic menace."

I agreed with the *Fortune* author, who declared: "This may seem like — in fact it is — a dreadful exercise in nit-picking. But unless somebody does a lot of nit-picking soon, we are going to be engulfed by phony statistics. They are turn-

ing up all over the place.

"They come in two varieties. One is the Meaningless Statistic — ordinarily meaningless because a figure is used in conjunction with an undefined term or an ambiguous thought, so that it is quite unclear what is being added up to arrive at the figure.

"The other kind of phoniness involves what might be called the Unknowable Statistic. In this case, the meaning may be perfectly clear, but the alleged fact is something that no one could possibly know."

Still shaking my head in wonderment at the boldness of the SERS propagandists, I immediately classified the renowned 7.3 per cent as a Meaningless Statistic, since it would be charitable to describe the SERS definition of the "South" as merely ambiguous.

In addition, knowing that SERS bases its figures on reports from school administrators, I concluded that the 7.3 per cent was also an Unknowable Statistic. What could be more natural than for a school superintendent who doesn't want his white schools invaded by Negroes to report that there are already some Negroes there, thus taking the heat off his school system? It's being done every day. But how could anyone possibly know?

Having thus whetted my curiosity, it seemed logical to pursue the

How much school integration does the South have? It all depends on whose statistics you read, and how you read them! This article explodes the myth of integration and the phony statistics used to spread the false doctrine of inevitability. Did you know that two Border States actually have more segregation than two years ago? Here are the facts!

matter further. Armed with a sharp pencil—and a reliable adding machine—it proved a simple matter to draw some extremely interesting conclusions, using the figures thoughtfully provided by SERS.

Citizens' Council members and friends will find these conclusions most encouraging. They will give little comfort to the integrationists.

First, a parting shot at the oft-cited 7.3 per cent. This, you will recall, is the percentage claimed by *Southern School News* of the South's Negro pupils enrolled in integrated schools. As noted above, SERS arrived at this figure through the tortuous process of adding six Border States and the District of Columbia to the 11 states of the old Confederacy.

Thus, the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia, plus the District of Columbia, are lumped together in the SERS version of the "South."

These states have a total public school enrollment of 10,266,673 whites and 3,210,724 Negroes, according to SERS, which claims that a total of 233,509 of the Negro pupils are attending schools with whites this year. Or, in other words, 7.3 per cent of the total Negro enrollment is now "integrated."

As *Southern School News* was forced to admit, this is the eighth school year since the Supreme Court's "Black Monday" decision.

Thus, in eight years, the total pressure of the integration movement has been able to force only 7.3 per cent integration—even in

Border States where greedy politicians pander to the black bloc vote at the expense of unorganized whites.

Simple long division reveals that the rate of integration for the 17 states plus the District of Columbia, therefore, is a scant 9/10 of 1 per cent per year—hardly cause for jubilation in the integration camp.

Put another way, it means that 103 years will be required to achieve total integration in the region—even in the unlikely event that the ever-mounting Negro birth rate remains constant! Victory celebrations by the race-mixers would seem somewhat premature.

Even more surprising is the fact that in the Border States, integration has failed to score notable gains in recent years—and the figures show a decline in two states!

In Missouri, for example, SERS reports that 41.4 per cent of the Negro pupils currently attend integrated schools. But early in 1960, the Missouri figure was 42.7 per cent.

The Missouri drop of 1.3 per cent in the integration rate, coupled with a downturn of 4/10 of 1 per cent in the Oklahoma rate, should give race-mixers cause for genuine alarm.

In Oklahoma, current SERS figures show 25.6 per cent of Negro pupils in mixed schools, compared with the 1960 figure of an even 26 per cent.

So even the SERS-slanted figures reveal that school integration has taken a backward step in recent years. Coupled with reports of "resegregation" as Negroes take over formerly all-white schools in

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Washington, Miami, Baltimore, St. Louis, New York, Chicago and other cities throughout the nation, the trend towards sanity and a return to segregation becomes evident.

But what of the Deep South? Has integration made any headway? Again, even the SERS figures can be made to tell the truth—by patient digging.

Now, get set for a real shocker!

In the nine Deep South states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, SERS could count only 1,461 Negroes actually enrolled in "integrated" schools out of a total of 2,293,846 Negro pupils. And of these 1,461, more than two-thirds are in the Washington suburbs of Northern Virginia, or in Miami schools soon slated to become all-Negro institutions.

That's all the "integration" SERS could find in the Deep South—1,461 out of 2,293,846 Negroes! In decimals, the ratio is 0.000636—or an infinitesimal 6/10,000 of 1 per cent.

For the Deep South, school integration has proceeded at the "deliberate speed" of 79 Negroes per million per year for the past eight years. At this rate, 12,658 years would be required to achieve total integration — even if the Negro birth rate remains constant, and longer if it continues to rise!

Even including Tennessee and Texas as part of the Deep South fails to make an appreciable dent in segregation customs. Ambitious politicians and avaricious merchants in both states have maneuvered scattered sell-outs, yet segregation remains the order of

the day, with recent reports from Texas confirming that Negroes prefer to send their children to all-Negro schools, if given a choice.

Adding Tennessee and Texas to the Deep South totals, we find that a mere 25/10,000 of 1 per cent of the Negro pupils are in mixed schools, or a ratio of 0.002507 if you prefer decimals. With an integration rate of 313 per million per year, another 3,195 years or more must pass before complete mixing could be accomplished!

Not wanting to join *Fortune's* "major menace" category by venturing to interpret statistics, I merely present them here, and leave the choice up to you.

How far away is integration? It depends on how you play the numbers game.

According to *Southern School News*, at least 103 years.

For the 11 states of the Confederacy, 3,195 years or more.

And in the nine Deep South states, a minimum of 12,658 years!

With the South thus preserving its racial customs, and with "re-segregation" sweeping the North and Border States, it seems safe to say that the integrationists are in for a rough time during the next several centuries.

Meanwhile, the next issue of "factual" and "objective" *Southern School News* will be awaited with interest. Possibly it will provide additional Meaningless or Unknowable Statistics which lend themselves to further analysis. More likely, however, the Ford Foundation will order SERS staffers to stop playing the numbers game, and take up a safer diversion, like Russian roulette!

The 'Freedom Rides'— Why Did They Fail?

BY DR. MEDFORD EVANS

In the crowds at Washington's bus-terminal intersection of Twelfth and New York Avenue, N. W. last May 4 (1961) were thirteen departing passengers ticketed for trouble. Their carefully planned itinerary involved no unusual routing or tight schedule. Through Charlotte, Atlanta, and Birmingham the party would move southwest towards New Orleans, where they expected to arrive May 17. Many a traveler has found this, even at a faster pace, a pleasantly dull trip through (by New York standards) a largely somnolent land. These particular fellow-travelers nevertheless anticipated with some excitement entering the quiet country of the South. They intended to wake it up. These were the original "Freedom Riders"— sifted from three times as many recruits, trained in Gandhian methods of civil disobedience, committed to a Negro "freedom" in America to match "uhuru" in African Kenya or "independence" in the Congo.

It will not be possible here to tell the whole story or make a complete analysis of the so-called "Freedom Rides." From May

through September, 1961, some four hundred zealots rode buses in the South looking for segregation ordinances to disobey. There were rides into Florida, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The Chaplain of Yale University tried to identify himself with the "Freedom Riders" in a semifarcical episode in Montgomery, Alabama, in May. In September there was an exhibition

Dr. Evans, for many years a professor of history at leading Southern colleges and universities, has achieved national prominence as an author and lecturer. He analyzes the failure of the so-called "Freedom Riders" and their motivations as a trained observer. Dr. Evans was chief of security for the U. S. Government's Manhattan Project, which developed the atomic bomb. From this vantage point, he quickly saw the Communist threat to America. During recent years, he has been a tireless worker in the campaign to inform and alert the U. S. public. Dr. Evans is currently serving as a personal aide to Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, whose resignation from the Army touched off a full-scale probe into "muzzling" of our military leaders.

Nationalists' Road To Revolution!

"Many of these students, when pressed to express their inner feelings, identify themselves with students in Africa, Asia, and South America. The liberation struggle in Africa has been the greatest single international influence on American Negro students. Frequently I hear them say that if their African brothers can break the bonds of colonialism, surely the American Negro can break Jim Crow."

—Martin Luther King, Jr. in the N. Y. Times Magazine, Sept. 10, 1961

in Jackson, Mississippi by fifteen Protestant Episcopal ministers, featuring Governor Nelson Rockefeller's son-in-law. This involvement of the power elite in the revolution of rising expectations is a phenomenon meriting a monograph, but the present article cannot be it. Every day for over four months there were dozens of "human interest" stories—many of them significant — connected with the "Freedom Riders." The present review of the operation centers largely on events of the three weeks beginning May 4, 1961. In that interval occurred all the large-scale violence, as well as a major transformation in the character and direction of the project — perhaps of the entire Negro movement in this country.

Closed out in September, the rides could be charged in October with a double defeat, but residual gains. Evidently the riders had once hoped to provoke violence (as a foil to "non-violence") but escape injury. In this they were doubly defeated, for in Alabama their injuries were multiple, and in still more dreaded Mississippi they were psychologically paralyzed and led peacefully to jail.

The residual gains were, most obviously, a ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission forbidding racial segregation in passenger terminals, which will doubtless have some effect though probably not the one intended; and, more significantly, the formation by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) of a permanent "nonviolent army" to be recruited by Rev. James Lawson, an expelled Vanderbilt divinity student who is a lieutenant of Martin Luther King and a key figure in the "Freedom Rides."

The "Freedom Rides" may well have marked the beginning of the end of "integration" — because white Southerners proved in Mississippi that integrationists can be defeated more easily and more completely than anyone had previously suspected, but also because the leadership which emerged from the rides at the head of the Negro movement is in fact oriented toward a policy not of "integration," which is achieved by elimination of race-consciousness, but of "black nationalism," which depends on intensification of race-consciousness.

At the end, though not at the beginning, the "Freedom Rides"

belonged to Martin Luther King—already hailed by Sammy Davis, Jr. as “our leader,” and called by biographer L. D. Reddick “the charismatic leader.” What King’s leadership might mean can be suggested indirectly but pointedly by a minatory passage from one of his favorite authors, Richard Wright: “I’ve heard liberal-minded Frenchmen express genuine horror at the lynching of a Negro by Mississippi whites. But to an Asian or an African it was not a Mississippi white man who did the lynching; it was just a Western white man.”

From the premise that a Mississippi white man is just a Western white man it would follow that an assault on Mississippi—such as the “Freedom Rides” into Jackson—is just an assault on the West. That King’s followers if not King accept the premise is attested by his own statement in the *New York Times Magazine* quoted at the beginning of this article: “The libertarian struggle in Africa has been the greatest single international influence on American Negro students.”

II

The “Freedom Rides” began as a project of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which describes itself as “A National Federation of Local Interracial Groups Working to Abolish Racial Discrimination by Direct Nonviolent Methods.” A scion of the militantly pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation instituted by A. J. Muste in 1915, CORE branched off in 1942 with a chapter in Chicago, and now claims 25,000 members in fifty cities. From an address in New York (513 West 166th Street)

shared with the Fellowship, CORE had by March 1957 moved to its present address at 38 Park Row, New York 38. The national director is James Farmer, a 41-year-old Negro, to whom, on October 16, 1961, New York’s Mayor Wagner, in a ceremony at City Hall (across the street from CORE headquarters), gave a proclamation of a “Freedom Riders Week”—possibly as a consolation prize for Martin Luther King’s having taken the “Freedom Rides” away from him. Editor of puckishly named house organ “Corelator” is James Peck, 46, who went to Federal penitentiary in World War II for refusing all reconciliation with the United States armed services.

Spokesmen for CORE’s home office include Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, and Gordon R. Carey, who told *U. S. News & World Report* that the objective of the biracial order was “to create the open society.” A National Advisory Committee includes Muste, Roger N. Baldwin, E. Stanley Jones, Lillian Smith, A. Philip Randolph, James B. Carey, Walter P. Reuther, Arthur J. Goldberg (indicating that the open society will have a closed shop), James Baldwin, and a score of other moral aristocrats of both races, most notably the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the inter-locking Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)—who is so nonviolent in his methods of Christian leadership that at a Negro Baptist meeting in Kansas City in September 1961 he “masterminded the invasion of the convention floor which resulted in the death of a delegate,” according to the Rev. J. H.

Jackson, Chicago Negro minister who is President of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.

In 1947 CORE and the Fellowship sponsored a "Journey of Reconciliation"—prototype of the 1961 "Freedom Rides." Confined to the Upper South, the earlier expedition avoided violence, but yielded twelve arrests. After the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on school desegregation (with subsequent civil disturbances throughout the South, most notably in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana); after the tension-generating Montgomery bus boycott of 1956; and after the provocative lunch-counter demonstrations of 1960, there seemed to be dramatic possibilities in a "sit-in on wheels," as Jim Farmer described the project to newsmen before he and his comrades got aboard the buses that May day in 1961.

III

It was Martin Luther King who through the Montgomery bus boycott had made "nonviolence" a vogue word of racial agitation. In a book attributed to King is this explanation of the method: "One may well ask, 'What is the non-violent resister's justification for this ordeal to which he invites men, for this mass political application of the ancient doctrine of turning the other cheek?' The answer is found in the realization that unearned suffering is redemptive." What the "Freedom Riders" proposed to do was to get on the road and earn some unearned suffering. While no one can deny the righteousness of turning the other cheek, yet to contrive an occasion and deliberately provoke a blow

on one cheek, in order by turning the other to humiliate an opponent, does seem like a lot of cheek.

Scientifically, violence involves the collision of moving bodies, motion is relative, and in any two-body collision the determination as to which is the hammer and which the anvil is all in the point of view. The little green men on a meteor think the earth hit them. Even when observers agree as to which is the moving and which the stationary body physically, responsibility for collision between the two may rest with either. If you deliberately throw yourself under a train, it is suicide, not murder by the engineer. Now, in this physically relativistic and morally responsible world of ours, it is about as nonviolent to send an ostentatiously integrated group of people into deep down Dixie as it is to stick an umbrella into a revolving propeller.

IV

Nevertheless, for ten days the "Freedom Ride" was a rather dull show. In Charlotte, N. C., May 8, there was a tepid arrest for trespass. At Rock Hill, S. C., May 9, John Lewis, later to play a key role, tried to go into a white rest room. He was punched by persons characterized as "some white hoodlums" by Albert Bigelow, a fifty-five-year-old architect of Cos Cob, Conn., who lent the ride an old New England name, a Harvard degree, the cachet of urbanity, and a record of direct (illegal) action to interfere with U. S. nuclear tests in Nevada and at Eniwetok. Rock Hill Police Captain James Hunsucker suggested that charges be preferred against

the "hoodlums," but the pilgrims nonviolently declined. (CORE was soon, however, to appeal to the President and the Attorney General for protection, thus invoking the implicitly violent police power.)

In Winnsboro, S. C., May 10, one of the Negro riders was arrested for trespass, and when Coreditor James Peck remonstrated, he was arrested for interfering with the police. After rather extended interrogation, the two were released and they caught up with their comrades the next day at Sumter. It was now Thursday, May 11, a full week out of Washington, and the unearned increment of suffering was negligible. It was a foregone conclusion that nothing would happen in Atlanta. The city Administration there was heavily mortgaged to the Negro vote, and passionately moderate regarding segregation. Desegregation of Atlanta schools was scheduled for fall, and CORE would not embarrass Mayor Hartsfield. Chafing, the riders could well have asked themselves: Is this a phony sit-in? When will there be something to be nonviolent about?

Alabama answered with ten days that shook the world of CORE.

V

Sunday, May 14. Two buses left Atlanta for Birmingham. West of Anniston, the Greyhound was hit by a Coca Cola bottle filled with gasoline. Passengers escaped out of the fire into a frying-pan of fisticuffs, but eventually got to Birmingham. The Trailways bus stopped in Anniston, and according to Dr. Walter Bergman, 61, former Michigan State professor,

"The driver said he wasn't going to move until the Negroes moved to the back of the bus. At that time about ten men attacked Charles Person, a student at Morehouse University, Atlanta. Then James Peck stepped forward, then they turned on us. Peck was beaten about the face and got a deep cut on his scalp. They beat me and were kicking me. And then they threw the Negroes and others over me. There was no other violence until we got to Birmingham."

In Birmingham, Howard K. Smith of CBS was an eye-witness: "When the bus arrived, the toughs grabbed the passengers into alleys and corridors, pounding them with pipes, with key rings, and with fists. One passenger was knocked down at my feet by twelve of the hoodlums and his face was beaten and kicked until it was a bloody pulp . . . I watched some of [the hoodlums] discussing their achievements of the day. That took place just under Police Commissioner [Eugene] Connor's window." And, it may be added, under Howard K. Smith's nose.

Monday, May 15. CORE decided to abandon the "Freedom Ride" when Governor John Patterson said: "The people of the state are so enraged I cannot guarantee protection for this bunch of rabble-rousers." The riders were airlifted out of Birmingham, after a delay due to a telephone bomb threat, on an Eastern Air Lines flight to New Orleans. *At this time it was thought that the "Freedom Ride" was over.* Early in the morning of the same day, however, in Tennessee, where John Lewis (of the Rock Hill episode) had

furloughed from the Ride to take an examination at the American Baptist Theological Seminary, a group of sit-in experts known as the Nashville Non-violent Movement was headed by Jim Lawson (see above). It had as "coordinating secretary" Diane Nash, a light and bright Negro woman from Chicago. Jim Bevel was put in charge of the Birmingham expedition. The Nashville Non-violent Movement had been established by a Student Central Committee from colleges in the Nashville area, and by the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, an affiliate of Martin Luther King's SCLC.

Tuesday, May 16. Some of Bevel's command left Nashville for Alabama.

Wednesday, May 17. James Peck held a news conference in New York. Swathed in bandages, he said the "Freedom Ride" had "spotlighted" evils of segregation. Apparently he did not know that the Nashville students were in Birmingham, where this very day they began their tour of duty with a provocative appearance at the Greyhound station, which resulted in their being taken into protective custody. Jailed with them, but released on bond, was Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham Negro preacher, and board member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. This Fund had been the employer of the notorious Carl Braden, convicted of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Thursday, May 18. This was a day of suspense. Another detachment of students arrived in Birmingham from Nashville. The first

group was still in jail. There were now about twenty in Birmingham on the end of the Bevel-Nash-Lawson-King chain of command. To the press, Shuttlesworth undertook to speak for the students. They "came here," he said, "to ride out on a regularly scheduled bus. That is our [sic] irrevocable position." He said that more riders were ready to come from other areas outside Alabama, "wave after wave, if necessary." The press learned of the link which John Lewis represented between the Nashville Non-violent Movement and CORE.

Friday, May 19. This was a long day. At midnight Thursday the jailed students were got out of bed, told to dress, and taken in police cars to the Tennessee line. "Cross it," Commissioner Connor told them, "and save this state and yourself a lot of trouble." One of the Negroes replied, "We'll see you back in Birmingham about noon." They did. Ignoring an injunction of Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones to desist from testing segregation in Alabama, they repeatedly attempted to board buses for Montgomery. As drivers refused to make the run if the riders got on, a crowd "in the thousands" was kept by police a block away from the station in every direction. The impasse continued through the night, into Saturday.

Saturday, May 20. At 8:30 in the morning of this fateful day, eighteen Negroes and three white persons got a bus for Montgomery —through some unexpected and still unexplained revision of attitude within the Greyhound system. (But see "Untold Story of the 'Freedom Rides,'" *U. S. News & World Report*, Oct. 23, 1961, pages

76-79, where a role for Bobby Kennedy is indicated). Perhaps the driver hated "Freedom Riders."

Unlike Birmingham, Montgomery is not usually considered a tough town. Proud of its sobriquet, "Cradle of the Confederacy" (it was the capital before Richmond was), it is the site of Maxwell Air University. But Montgomery had had experience with Martin Luther King. If what he represented was nonviolence, Montgomery would take violence.

Action in Birmingham had been pretty well limited to the Klan and other semi-professionals. The professional touch was felt in Montgomery too, especially at the very beginning, but there was a great deal more that was spontaneous and unrehearsed.

An observer on the ground reported that respectable people, goaded to extremity, are more dangerous than goons. This was not a lynch mob. If the crowd could have reached King it might have lynched him. But as it was, a certain difficulty of focus persisted, which probably accounts for the otherwise extraordinary fact that with a thousand people in a killing mood—"a huge and vicious crowd," said eye-witness *Life* Correspondent Norman Ritter feelingly — nobody was killed. Half-killed, to a total of about twenty, were vicarious victims of three kinds: (1) "Freedom Riders," (2) members of the press, (3) Presidential Aide John Seigenthaler. Innocent bystanders were hurt too, and AP so classified Seigenthaler, but probably he was hit by somebody that knew who he was. Some of the media men seemed surprised that Southern whites were more

bitter toward them than toward the Negroes. "All this time," writes Ritter, describing a methodically brutal attack on an NBC cameraman and a *Life* photographer, "the freedom riders stood by unmolested." The thing is not surprising. First things first. Only a small minority of Negroes, but an overwhelming majority of the press, have injured the South.

Yet the severest injuries were evidently those of "Freedom Riders" James Zwerg, a white student from a Negro university (Fisk), and William F. H. Barbee, a Negro from the American Baptist Theological Seminary, who were rescued from probable death at the hands of the mob by Alabama Public Safety Director Floyd Mann, armed with a pistol. Zwerg and Barbee showed great tenacity of spirit. "We took a vow when we left Nashville that we would give our lives if necessary," said Zwerg. Barbee said: "We'll batter up your segregation institutions until they crumble to dust." They spoke from racially segregated wards of St. Jude's Catholic Hospital.

Sunday, May 21. Master of infuriation, King came to town (Montgomery), and was escorted to the First Baptist Church of his man Ralph Abernathy by sixty Federal Marshals. Governor Patterson exclaimed in disgust: "It looked like the President of the United States." But it was merely one of the President's friends — a better friend, apparently, than John Patterson. But the Marshals bid fair to be overwhelmed by the "howling mob" (AP) which besieged the fifteen hundred Negroes packed into church by the allure of the

charismatic leader. As the night wore on, Patterson did his duty. He declared martial law and sent the Alabama National Guard to rescue the Negroes, the Marshals, and King. In a published photograph (*Life*, June 2, 1961), one Guardsman, significantly, covers his face. No footnote to these riots is more bizarre than the fact that the Marshals sent to Montgomery numbered 666. Not everyone would notice that this is "the number of the beast" in *Revelation*, but a Baptist preacher would notice.

Monday, May 22. This day CORE acknowledged, in effect, its error in having abandoned the "Freedom Ride," and returned to what was now King's highway. Six CORE men — five by train from New Orleans, one by plane from New York—were greeted in Montgomery by Jim Farmer, who had come in from New York the night before.

Tuesday, May 23. Still under the shield of the Alabama National Guard, Martin Luther King came from a four-hour meeting to announce at a news conference: "I am sure that these students are willing to face death if necessary." The Ride would proceed into Mississippi.

VI

No one is sure yet just what happened in Jackson. The game was really over in a hurry, though a "broken-back" operation by the riders dragged through the summer. Or perhaps the riders played so subtle a game that the score is still not posted? Perhaps the score *was* posted—with the riders winning after all—in the form of the ICC ruling in the fall? But that

is really getting an ICC ruling the hard way. And what is it worth? There have been ICC rulings before.

No, at the end of the campaign in September, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett could, and did, make the Beowulfian boast: "We have defeated the NAACP and CORE. We have captured the entire army of 'freedom riders' and made them our prisoners. We have frustrated the integrationists and moderates at every turn, and we're going to do it as long as I'm Governor. It may well be recorded that our victories marked the turning point in the war against race-mixing." Then, to show that Jackson is by no means inaccessible to the winds of argot from Madison Avenue, he added that Mississippi, in its stand on segregation, has built an "image of invincibility."

Yet on May 24, with one thousand Alabama National Guardsmen, and an air cover which might have been useful in Cuba in April, escorting twenty-seven "Freedom Riders" and twenty newsmen toward the state, even the Governor of Mississippi could not be sure what would happen.

Only one thing was certain. The riders could not be permitted to "integrate" the bus station. The Governor of Mississippi would have known that, even if he had not just witnessed such a timely demonstration in Montgomery of what might be expected. And there were people in his own state physically strong but morally just weak enough to be a little bit jealous of Montgomery. From their point of view, too, Mississippi had its reputation to think of. What Ross

Barnett as a conscientious chief magistrate, sworn to uphold the peace and dignity of the state, had to worry about was preventing mob action even *before* the riders "integrated" anything.

On Tuesday, he had sent the Attorney General of the United States a telegram advising him that he would "do a great disservice to the agitators [italics added] and the people of the United States if you do not advise the agitators to stay out of Mississippi." He added, with perhaps more propriety than conviction, that Mississippi would "work out its own problems, as always, and keep the peace."

Actually, the Governor could be reasonably sure that if he got the riders to Jackson without incident, he could preserve the peace. Also, by meeting the buses at the state line, putting Guardsmen aboard, and providing military and police escort on the highway, he could probably keep good control through the hundred-mile stretch from the Alabama line to Jackson, so long as the buses kept rolling.

There was still a problem. Certain passengers on one of the buses with the "Freedom Riders" had tickets to Meridian, Mississippi's second largest city, only twenty miles from the Alabama line. Barnett suspected that if the *agents provocateurs* on the "Freedom Ride" went into the bus station in Meridian they would have an easy time fulfilling their destiny. At one o'clock in the morning of the day the riders were due he called the Trailways manager in Meridian. U. S. Highway 80 bypasses the main part of the city. What were the possibilities? The trouble, explained the manager, was that a

ticket was a contract. A passenger could sue the company if he were not delivered to the station. Barnett is a lawyer. The ticket reads "Meridian," doesn't it? Yes. "Let your passengers out in the corporate limits. I'll have police cars give them cab service to any part of the city. That's better than they would normally get."

As the first "Freedom Ride" bus was arriving in Jackson that afternoon, Bobby Kennedy was issuing from Washington his appeal for a "cooling-off period." Ross Barnett was doing all right. Of course he had one advantage over John Patterson, in that he had never done the Kennedy family a favor and was not therefore a proper object of ingratitude.

Mississippi took the "Freedom Riders" the way the New York Yankees took Cincinnati. And partly for the same reason. The familiar reason which nobody understands. *A champion is different!* And unless you know you can beat him, what you know about him will beat you.

The riders were not ready for Mississippi. They were paralyzed! Jackson is a hundred miles from the Alabama line. Within two hours after they entered the state, the riders on each bus were in jail in the Mississippi capital. Ordered by Jackson police to leave a white waiting room, the Negroes mechanically uttered their refusal. Then obediently, they went to the paddy wagon — and to their segregated cells.

The whole operation was incredibly quiet, and swift. After Montgomery, and after the buses, the hush of the Hinds County jail was another world. Perhaps in

some deep atavistic way the Negroes for the first time, after a violent experience and a long voyage, felt safe from a powerful African King.

There was a lot of feeling that the ride had gone too far. *New York Times* writer Claude Sitton reported from Jackson that a prominent (but anonymous) Southern liberal said: "This becomes a dare, not a protest. I agree with the Attorney General, that it is time for the 'Freedom Ride' to end." A Negro leader (anonymous) agreed: "What concerns me is what may happen to Southern Negroes after the 'Freedom Riders' return to the safety of their homes outside the Deep South." Martin Luther King would not agree. "King," said Sitton, "was reached by phone at his office in Atlanta." Jim Farmer and Jim Lawson would have been easier to reach. They were in jail right there in Jackson.

During the ensuing summer a number of the "Freedom Riders" must have recalled the old story about the man who telephoned his lawyer for advice. Whatever he had done, the lawyer said: "Oh, they can't put you in jail for that." "Well," said the man, "that's where I'm phoning from."

Mississippi put between two and three hundred "Freedom Riders" in jail, kept them there varying periods of time up to four months, fined them heavily, and beat some of them—in Federal Court.

The Riders were arrested under Section 2087.5 of the Mississippi Code of 1942, as amended. Elizabeth Porter Wyckoff, a white woman from New York City, petitioned Federal Judge S. C. Mize

for a writ of habeas corpus, alleging *inter alia* that her imprisonment was a denial of due process of law under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U. S. Constitution.

In the course of denying the writ, the Judge observed: "Petitioner was not convicted of a violation of any law with reference to integration or segregation, but was convicted of a breach of the peace in refusing to disperse and move on under the direction of a lawful officer . . . Petitioner's own state, New York, has a very similar statute and with the same purpose as the Mississippi statute. See Section 722, New York Penal Law."

A white woman! Even Hugo Black couldn't help her. July 26, 1961, on appeal from Judge Mize's ruling, Justice Black with Justice Tom C. Clark concurring, denied Miss Wyckoff a writ of habeas corpus "because factual allegations fall far short of showing that there are not Mississippi state processes available by appeal or otherwise . . . to challenge the state conviction."

On a petition of five other "Freedom Riders," Federal Judge W. Harold Cox observed in colorful prose: "These petitioners heralded their arrival in Jackson from other states for provocative purposes. Their status as interstate passengers is extremely doubtful. Their destination was Jackson but their objective was trouble."

Mississippi is fortunate in its Federal Judges. Judge Mize said in the Wyckoff opinion: "The wisdom of this statute [2087.5] is exemplified by oral argument of counsel for petitioner when he refers to the bloodshed that occurred

in Montgomery. No such occurrences happened in Mississippi, but had it not been for the orderly enforcement by the officers of the State of Mississippi under the provisions of this statute, such occurrences could have happened."

And there, from a Federal Judge, you have the case for segregation. In Alabama segregation ordinances were not enforced, and violence resulted. In Mississippi segregation laws were not enforced either, but under a different kind of statute the separation of the races was accomplished in time to preserve peace. Thus the effect of segregation was achieved in a crisis, and the crisis surmounted. (But had the segregation laws never been called in question by the Supreme Court, the crisis would never have occurred.)

(Editor's Note — On Dec. 18, the U. S. Supreme Court, in a startling reversal of form, unanimously refused an NAACP demand to order a halt to prosecution of "Freedom Riders" by Mississippi courts. Thus, Mississippi was free to continue the trials. Meantime, Martin Luther King was in a Georgia jail awaiting trial for his part in an Albany, Ga., version of the "Freedom Rides.")

Public - relationswise, Mississippi tacked skillfully against the wind. When Jackson's Mayor Allen Thompson appeared on "Today" on TV, a columnist in the *Detroit Free Press* wrote: "He was a combination of Rhett Butler and Old Folks at Home—and I have seen the initial mail response. The Mayor made out all right nationally."

Bernie Wynn revealed in the *Phoenix Arizona Republic* that he had once been an undercover

member of CORE — "the St. Louis cell," he said, and documented the obvious connotations. UPI writer Cliff Sessions described the effect on observers of the collision between Mississippi and the "Freedom Riders": "At Jackson's Trailways bus terminal, a cordon of officers waited. They kept crowds on the move. When arriving riders tried to integrate rest rooms, they were asked politely not to do that. They politely refused to obey. Then they were as politely arrested. It was nonviolence in reverse — apparently part of a carefully laid plan."

VII

Why did King send the Ride into Mississippi? Quite inelegantly, he goofed, probably because of an exaggerated concept of the potentialities of black nationalism. "What drives the militants on," explained *Newsweek* (June 5), "is a sense of something the American Negro has never had before: A history of his own. They see in the racial struggle in the South the first chance the Negro has had to determine his own life, and they are confident that Little Rock and Montgomery will someday mean to Negroes what the Alamo does to Texans."

Self-determination of the American Negro is something the Communist Party is supposed to have discarded in December 1959. The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, in Moscow in 1928, established as an objective a Black Peoples' Republic to be carved out of the Southern United States as part of the struggle for liberation and self-determination of oppressed peoples. In a meeting of the Communists in December 1959,

this goal of self-determination in the Black Belt was declared to have been superseded by the goal of full Civil Rights. But *Newsweek* suggests that King and Company have picked it up again. And certainly charismatic leadership in emulation of Kwame Nkrumah, which is King's way, can hardly be directed toward integration, though if successful it could contribute mightily to U. S. disintegration.

In the spectrum of the U. S. Negro leadership, King lies between Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP on one side, and Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims on the other. Possibly he would classify Marshall as opportunist and Muhammad as sectarian. But the direction is away from the NAACP and toward the Muslims. The once decorous Southern Regional Council said bluntly at the outset of operation Freedom Ride: "If white Southerners have any good sense, it will not have to be a truly extremist group next year — and there are such lurking in the wings." The intellectual *Nation* (July 29) is still more explicit: "Nonviolence, as Dr. King puts it, offers the Southern Negro 'the sense of a way out'; if that way is barred, the avenues of violence may beckon." Paradoxically, perhaps, this which sounds like idle bluster in Mississippi suggests a genuine threat in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York.

Three alternatives confront the American Negro: (1) *Paternalism with concomitant segregation*, which though rhetorically unpopular the majority of Southern Negroes would evidently like to keep. At the NAACP's "mass rally to protest the jailing" of the "Free-

dom Riders" in Jackson May 26, by actual count 127 people showed up, including 40 to 50 who were on the program. Most Negroes would probably accept the formula of Albert Schweitzer: "I am your brother, it is true, but your elder brother." (2) *Integration*, which an ambitious minority seek and in the North find, especially among privileged but insecure whites, such as Norman Mailer. (3) *Black nationalism*, with which the revolutionary demon of our time induces political intoxication, and for which the slogan of "*Integration*" may serve as a war cry. "Freedom Rider" Barbee's exclamation in the Montgomery hospital, "We'll batter up your segregation institutions until they crumble to dust," certainly portends not peace but a sword — evidently more in the Islamic than the Christian sense. Negroes who object (the majority do not object) to Jim Crow signs are not moved by any sense of physical deprivation so much as by resentment of the power of the whites to put the signs up. Thus *Integration with whites* is an *anti-white* slogan.

Historically, a measure of paternalism, inextricably associated with a measure of segregation, is the distinctly American way of achieving a practicable biracial *modus vivendi*. The markers along King's highway read *African example*, *Black nationalism*, *Civil disobedience* — an ABC which leads to political *Dissolution* in America as in Africa. The route of the "Freedom Riders" looks like a fine blacktop in Ghana, but in the All-American, Miss-America, Magnolia State of Mississippi, that road is closed!

What's happened to our courage? Have we become a nation of cowards? A distinguished clergyman presents challenging thoughts which deserve your careful study!

Courage, Christian Soldiers!

BY THE REV. T. ROBERT INGRAM

Something strange has happened to Christendom! Throughout the Christian era, the servants of Christ have been men of war. But now, men are ashamed or afraid to fight.

Jesus died to win the supreme victory of life—and there is no victory without war. Paul's words, near the end of his life, were "*I have fought a good fight.*"

The New Testament is shot through with warlike language, and while Jesus' kingdom is not of this world, it is over this world and He is the King of Kings—just as in the Old Testament the God of Jacob is the Lord of Hosts, meaning armies.

Certainly Christ is the Prince of Peace—but peace, in Christian language as well as among Com-

munists, is the fruit of victory after war—not a condition of submission.

It is a truism to say that men are never closer to God than in battle. There is a terror in battle that is not merely the terror of death. It is that, compounded with the willful decision to engage in a fight to the death, the complete loss of control over the issue of events, also done willfully, and the finality expected in the outcome.

I cannot imagine a competent general who does not know that after all possible preparations have been made, once the battle is joined, the outcome is in the hands of someone above and beyond human limitations. The real and final act of military courage is that of committing one's forces to an engagement whose outcome is beyond control and the result of which has a finality that tells of judgment.

That is why courage has always been one of the foremost characteristics of a Christian. The heroic

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personalities of both Old and New Testaments are men of courage that surpasses even the heights of ordinary standards.

Jeremiah faced a frightening prospect when God called him to stand fast against the tolerant, wavering softness of his people under threat of war and conquest. He was to exhort them, chastise them and cause them to mend their ways—and he was to do so in the face of almost universal popular and official opposition.

Yet the Lord said to him, "*Gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces.*"

The courage of Jesus is best described by the reaction of the Twelve to his ministry, and by the words of St. Thomas when Jesus set his face to go to Jerusalem and force his claim upon the city. Said Thomas, "*Let us go and die with Him.*"

The courage of the Apostles and martyrs is legendary—men who gave their lives as the price for deliberate, willful steadfastness in the Faith.

In more recent times, too, courage has been an outstanding quality of both private and public life in Christendom. But what has happened to us today? What has become of our Christian courage? Let's see.

When we were children, part of our early training — at least among the boys — was in the field of courage. One of the inescapable challenges to a fight was simply to prove your courage.

If you didn't fight, it was because you were afraid to fight!

And to be branded as a coward was to be ostracized from the fellowship of childhood.

But the sturdy moral code of the community was persistently eaten away by the state school concept of values (or lack of them) and classroom instruction had it that real courage showed itself in admitting you were *afraid* to fight.

I'll admit it developed a rather unusual courage to face up to the crowd as a coward — especially under the nagging doubt inwardly as to whether the whole business was not simply a way of covering up the greater fear of the fight. Be that as it may, the same startling state school concept of values has grown up and progressed to more sophisticated levels.

A whole generation of men — who have grown up without enough fights even to sustain a popular code of honor—nevertheless has advanced to higher plateaus calling for courage in thought, politics and worship.

"Better Red than dead!" the spineless ones chant. And we find that instead of admiring the staunch determination of Jeremiah, or the hard-headed purpose of the Puritan, or the amazing steadfastness of Southern culture, popular morality now denounces such convicted courage with angry snarls.

Words like "bigot," "bias," "patriot," "flag-waver," yes even "Puritan," have become bad words. They are words *made* bad, not because of what they really mean, but because so many people never use them without spitting.

"Bigot," for example, means literally *by God*. It accurately de-

scribes for us all one of the most evident characteristics of a Godly person: he is steadfast, unmovable, altogether sure his action is required by God. Christian morality would recognize such an attitude as admirable and worthy of praise and emulation. Popular morality attacks it with demonic fury and uncontrollable rage.

The very fury with which many people today denounce bigotry must be recognized as a kind of courage: it is of a piece with the kind of courage that was brave enough to risk being called a coward. And yet one must wonder whether that kind of bravery is not after all just a false prop to sustain a shattered self-respect by bravely calling cowardice bravery.

Such an inversion of values, however—that of calling good evil and evil good—has a dreadful power of its own which Christian people must measure. To deal with it without respect for its power is closer to foolhardiness than to Christian courage. For such an attitude by its nature carries with it all the demonic desperation of Hell.

The power associated with evil purpose is different in kind than courage: its base is pride, and its root is falsehood and evil. Pride is the distortion of self-respect; it is sustained by a desperate commitment to evil. Thus it is that those who are committed to ungodliness are determined and sometimes relentless in their defiance of real moral values, and thereby give the false appearance of steadfastness and courage.

It is clear that Hell is populated by those who are Hell-bent with

an iron-willed determination. Their determination, like all things devilish, is a mockery of the real thing. It is unwavering and desperate, and sweeps all before it that is not armed with Christian courage.

When Dante in his vision finally arrives at the center of the earth, which is Hell, and sees the mystery of iniquity laid bare in all its terrifying ugliness, Virgil, his guide, warns him: "Here is the place where you must arm yourself with courage."

How it feels to be armed with courage is described in the very next lines by the poet. It is quite different from the arrogancy of pride: "How faint and frozen I then became, do not ask, Reader, for I do not write it down, since all words would be inadequate. I did not die and did not stay alive: think now for yourself, if you have the wit, how I became, without life or death."

Pride would be smashed by admitting such overwhelming terror. The boy who is taught to be "too proud to fight" does not stand his ground supported by terror, but by the desperation of total defiance of good. So the man who is "too proud to be a bigot" does not display the courage inspired by terror of the majority or the popular outcry, but rather the flint-like stubborn worship of what he calls "open-mindedness," "tolerance," indecision and license. Both are seemingly unbending.

Pride has the added attraction of not being beset by doubts or uncertainty, or by admitted fears and weaknesses, and of pretending to unconquerable self-righteousness. But it is the very falseness of pride

that enables courage at last to overcome.

Courage deals in realities; pride in falsities. Every Christian must learn to tell the difference, not only for his own courage's sake but also to bolster up his courage when, like Jeremiah, he must set his own face against the faces of his countrymen.

I think the tell-tale attitude of pride as distinguished from courage is in the very first stages. Courage is marked by a faint uncertainty, accompanied by a determination to proceed—not because I know I am right, but because I think I see the right way.

Pride reverses all this. Pride pretends to uncertainty, too. But then pride does not act upon uncertainty, but becomes absolutely certain of uncertainty. Doubt replaces faith.

The Christian can be warned then, for he is confronted with what anybody can see is a lie. To have a conviction that it is evil to have a conviction is a self-condemning falsehood.

In terms of action and conduct, Pride declares it is wicked to make up your mind, like a bigot, on the basis of what you think is God's way from earnest seeking. Pride says you must examine all sides of every question.

Pride says one must never reach a point of decision and action, but must wallow forever in indecision and inaction, waiting for something

new to turn up, never risking failure because human destiny seems to hang on the fate of the proud. No wonder Dante saw that the vestibule of Hell is peopled with the compromisers, the fence-straddlers and those who are utterly sure it is wrong to make up your mind.

Today, in this increasingly dangerous world, every Christian must have the courage of a Jeremiah — courage to move forward into the battle against those who would call evil good and good evil, who ridicule earnest Christian efforts to live together in separate communities as "racism," who belabor the fact of different church orders as an outrageous sin against "world unity."

We must act with humility, yes—and with compassion. But we must also act with Christian courage.

I once heard a great man asked, "Where do you find the courage to say and do the things you do?"

His reply was simple, yet penetrating. He answered, "I just stop and think what the alternative is."

It may be frightening to accept the consequences of using our Christian courage, but it is far more frightening to face the consequences of not doing so.

Courage, Christian soldier!

"Be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord."

Special "Race and Reason Day" Issue Still Available!

Copies of the special November issue of *The Citizen*, containing the full text of Carleton Putnam's address and other highlights of "Race And Reason Day In Mississippi," are still available. This big special issue is ideal for sending to friends in the North. Copies are \$1 each, or 10 for \$7.50 — send your order today to **THE CITIZEN**, Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

Potomac Alphabet

(Revised Standard Aversion)

for

New Arrivals on the Washington Scene

- A** is for Adlai, whose verbal felicity
Makes one forget his socialist duplicity.
- B** is for Bobby, a thinker profound,
Calling long-distance for Mister Greyhound.
- C** is for Chester, who bowles us all over—
He found marijuana in the Kennedy clover.
- D** is for Davis, Sammy supreme,
Who mixes his coffee with Scandanavian cream.
- E** is for Eleanor, peripatetic perennial
Like the Wonderland duchess, in drawings by Tenniel.
- F** is for Frankie, always available
To croon for the party with liberal labial.
- G** is for Goldberg, an arbiter free
To eviscerate employers with his snicker-snee.
- H** is for Harvard, home of all knowledge—
It's proved to us all the danger of college.
- I** is for idiocy, insanity and interment
For rude fellows who question a Kennedy preferment.
- J** is for Jackie, high fashion's delight,
Who seems not to care that her hair is a fright.
- K** is for Kenneth, Galbraith is the name—
He'll never be happy till all are the same.
- L** is for Lyndon, politically omniscient—
Benedict Arnold was ne'er so efficient.

- M** is for Murrow, that wringer of hands,
Our "image" deplored in cannibal lands.
- N** is for nowhere, the place we are going,
With a liberal press to keep us from knowing.
- O** is for Orville, our country's last freeman—
To farmers he's robbed, a classical demon.
- P** is for Peace Corps(e), pap for puberty,
Purloined purse strings, draft-dodging impunity.
- Q** is for Quislings, for quavering quinks*
Who glide our foreign policy o'er Muscovite rinks.
- R** is for Rusk, with retreat so ready—
He steers each surrender with a hand most steady.
- S** is for "Soapy", our diplomat sellout,
"Africa for Africans" black as all get-out.
- T** is for Thurgood and tractors and treason—
On patriots and white folks, it's now open season.
- U** is for Udall, a yankee us mentions—
Discreetly called "you all" at Southern conventions.
- V** is for Veritas, goddess defiled—
She breathed her last breath as old Franklin D. smiled.
- W** is for welfare, in this land gone crazy—
Illegitimacy rampant, free food for the lazy.
- X** is for xenophilia, the love of things foreign
With "America Last," now made easy by Warren.
- Y** is for yakety-yakety-yaks—
What else to expect from political hacks?
- Z** is for zero, and our poem is thus ended—
What's left for America when our money is spended?

—Thomas J. Wesley, Jr.

*Quink—jabberwocky for a pink person, afflicted by abnormal amorous tastes — frequently found in the State Department.

Newburgh's Secession From

BY JOSEPH McD. MITCHELL
City Manager of Newburgh, New York

This is the Newburgh story — a story of a city and its citizens battling for Home Rule.

Why was it that one small city of 31,000 people—beautifully situated on the majestic Hudson river, 60 miles north of New York City—could start a ruckus which was felt around the world? How is it that the actions of a tiny four-man majority of a five-man Council became the subject of editorials, cartoons, denunciations, praise and hundreds of newspaper columns across the land and abroad?

What caused 15,000 people to write in and support us? What caused the Urban League to make us the object of a lengthy statement of condemnation?

What caused the Gallup Poll to take an opinion survey which resulted in overwhelming support of our welfare reforms on all points from a majority as high as 90%?

What caused the national press to parade into Newburgh with pad, pencil, TV camera and radio tape for three months in an endless procession?

What could our little city by the Hudson have done to cause such a furor?

We challenged the Welfare State and everything it stood for.

We challenged the minority voting bloc racket. We challenged the

right of the state to interfere in local affairs. We seized the reins of home rule. We threatened the grant-in-aid system, which has become the tool of Federal and state control over local affairs.

We challenged the philosophy of the welfare bureaucrats, the Freudian philosophy of the irresponsibility of man and the loss of the soul and godly conscience. We threatened the bureaucrats' empire. We proclaimed that local officials should decide local affairs.

We challenged the "right" of social parasites to breed illegitimate children at the taxpayers' expense. We challenged the "right" of moral chiselers and loafers to squat on the relief rolls forever. We challenged the "right" of cheaters to make more on relief than when working.

We challenged the "right" of people to quit jobs at will and to go on relief like spoiled children. We challenged the "right" of citizens to migrate for the purpose of becoming or continuing as public charges.

We challenged the "right" of a welfare program to contribute to the rise of slums, to the rise of illegitimacy, to the rise of social disease among children and adults, to school problems, to emptying the city of responsible, taxpaying

on From The Welfare State

The national spotlight fell on Newburgh, N. Y., last Spring, when a determined city government embarked on a plan to restore sanity to the public welfare program. Despite all the uproar, the Newburgh Plan is working, as you will learn from this report by Newburgh's brilliant young city manager.

citizens and filling it with those who create crime and violence.

We challenged the "right" of welfare bureaucrats to hand out cash to ne'er do wells to be spent in bars and on luxuries.

We have been pictured as racists, as anti-negro, as brutes, as dictators. We have been attacked on all sides for attempting social and economic reforms. What are the facts?

Newburgh is a city of commerce and industry. Its land area is about 3½ sq. miles. It is densely populated, and has as many as 300 varied industries and hundreds of small businesses. Its population as of the 1960 census was 30,979, a loss of about 1,000 or 3% since 1950. Its employment situation is good and we have found that anyone who wants work can find it.

The influx of 3,100 migrant-type citizens in 10 years, together with a total population loss of 1,000, and a permanent resident-type loss of 4,075 is an important indication of the seriousness of our social changes and their portent for the future.

In November of 1960, I, as City Manager, appointed a committee

of lay citizens to study the city's economic and social problems, with particular reference to welfare operations. This Committee spoke with the school superintendent, the heads of all city departments, people in social welfare work, the city judge, and all those whose opinions and experience would assist them in obtaining a representative sampling of Newburgh's social and economic conditions as these conditions pertained to welfare operations.

The principal conclusions of the report point to the need for the city to control all departments which could be utilized in stemming blight, noting that control had been lost in the case of the Department of Public Welfare, due to the nature of the laws of the state and the reimbursement or grant system under which the City administers public welfare funds.

In the course of presenting the Council with its capital improvement forecast it was necessary for me to predict the city's financial future. It became evident that the future was perilous when the full impact of the tax structure be-

came known. The budget for the fiscal year beginning January 1, 1962, would carry with it a tax increase of at least \$6.00 per thousand of assessed valuation.

The reasons for this increase lay in the current predicted deficit in welfare operations, the future cost of welfare operations and the declining assessed valuation in the riverfront slum area of the city.

The outlay of welfare had reached the sum of \$8.00 and more out of a total of \$31.00 per thousand of assessed valuation. The future in welfare, from a cost standpoint alone, indicated that this \$8.00 would rise constantly, and that no capital improvements would be possible until this problem was solved. The situation indicated an inverse spiral which would carry with it a steadily rising tax rate, with steadily declining revenues and higher costs of municipal government. It became necessary, therefore, to reduce this element of the budget to make room for the pressing needs of the city.

We have spent in Newburgh over the past 11 years over \$8,800,000 of public funds on various categories of welfare. During this time, our social and economic problems have *not* been reduced. They have been compounded.

Having explored every possible channel to halt rising welfare costs, and to use welfare to assist the city, the City Council majority realized the necessity of seizing the reins of welfare policy for themselves.

With this in mind, the Council moved to grant its City Manager extraordinary powers to take

such actions in welfare operations as would be necessary to stop the influx of parasitic migrants and to reduce welfare costs and caseloads. The Manager took the study committee's report and from it devised 13 policy changes which the Council adopted by a vote of four to one.

These 13 points can be summarized by saying that they limited the amount to be paid, the length of time that some could be on relief, the payment by voucher instead of cash where deemed in the public interest, the removal of illegitimate children from polluted environments, the denial of aid when people quit jobs for no reason, or refused jobs, the requirement that those able-bodied men on relief work, prohibitions on migrating to the city just to get on relief, and a requirement that the budget for the year not be exceeded.

Immediately upon putting these policies into effect, there arose a hue and cry among the social welfare people — not only in Newburgh, but all over the United States.

What we had done was a threat to their empire and a threat to their philosophy.

The whole experience reveals a vast philosophical chasm with taxpayers, the man in the street, the working man, the businessman, and the conservative in favor of us on the right; and the liberals, the social welfare workers, the theorists and philosophers and university professors of social welfare on the left.

Have we succeeded?

Here is what has happened in the few short months since we be-

gan our program. The caseload—the total number of persons supported by welfare—was reduced from 1,382 to about 900 from February through August. Little of this drop was seasonal.

The deficit of \$59,000 in welfare operations has been turned into a minimum surplus of \$6,000—or a savings of \$65,000 for the year.

The Aid to Dependent Children caseload was reduced from 160 in February to 106 in August. Home relief was reduced from 100 in February to 20 in August, and of those 20, most are small payments, payments for a few days and for women.

The slums have been visibly cleaned up. Police incidents are on the wane. Our program has succeeded.

We have no intention of depriving the truly needy of aid and comfort. No *bona fide* case shall suffer. On the other hand, neither shall the city as a whole be subject, if we can avoid it, to further economic and social deterioration.

Specifically, our greatest and most pressing problem lies in the Aid to Dependent Children and home relief categories. Aid to Dependent Children was to have risen by 500% over the past 10 years, as of the February prediction for the end of this year. By this, I mean that the 1951 budget for ADC was \$42,940. The 1961 ADC budget forecast was \$228,000.

ADC is a mirror of social, moral and economic conditions. By its very definition, it is an aid category involving a broken home. It involves illegitimacy, separations,

divorces, adultery. Widows are included, of course, but largely ADC is the mirror of the sordid part of society.

Ethnic shifts in population during the past 10 years were reflected directly in Newburgh's ADC figures. In 1956, migratory slum dwellers accounted for three-eighths of our ADC caseload, or 61 out of 167. By 1960, migrants made up two-thirds of our ADC cases, or 337 of the 531 total cases.

The influx of migrants was followed by an ethnic change in population, together with mounting reports of crime and violence, and increases in disease, illegitimacy, overcrowding, and similar manifestations of slum life.

Our whole program is based on morality and is designed to achieve social reform, of which morality is the keystone. We do not think it is moral to appropriate public funds to finance crime, illegitimacy, disease, and other social evils.

Yet, under present welfare theories, public funds are in fact being expended to further pollute our society. This is immoral.

Welfare has lost effective contact with the wishes of the electorate. This contact must be restored and maintained. The control over welfare policies must rest with the electorate, not with the bureaucrats.

Local policy control should rest with *elected officials* on the local level. The result will be a welfare program which the people want, not a welfare program which the bureaucrats think the people ought to have.

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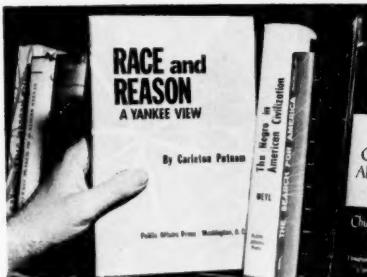
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